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Location of Interview: Mag Xiang, Panam [Tib. pa snam], Tibet Autonomous Region, China

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Interviewed by: Melvyn Goldstein and Ben Jiao

Name: Dagnyer [bdag gnyer]

Gender: Male

Age: 59

Date of Birth: 1941

Abstract

The subject was a treba villager from Chugong in Döjung Dzong. In this interview, he discusses in detail the situation after the death of Chairman Mao and the changes in his village. He was the dagnyer of the rukhag, and talks about the management and daily routine of the rukhag, and how, because the government collected the "donation grain" and the "selling grain," life was poor. He also discusses how the people changed their life style during the Cultural Revolution, and the policy after the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee as well as the gentsang ("complete responsibility") policy. Finally, he discusses village governments and the work involved in being Party Secretary, noting the difficulty of being situated between the government and the people.

Tape 3

A: After Chairman Mao died, three different leaders of the Central Committee were changed. After Mao, it was Hua Guofeng. At that time, they were making propaganda saying that Chairman Mao said, "I feel at ease if Comrade Hua would do the work." The masses were glad and they were thinking that the leadership of the Party would be carried to completion.

After that, it was said that Hua Guofeng made a mistake on two analyses [Tib. dbye 'byed gnyis]. Hua was saying that as long as they were the instructions of the Chairman Mao, we should implement it. And he didn't accept the errors of the Cultural Revolution during its ten year period. That was inappropriate with the Party's line. Therefore, it was said that he was expelled. After that, it was said that Zhao Ziyang made a mistake and he was overthrown before he got promoted. After that it was Hu Yaobang who came out.

Q: Would you please describe the management of the rukhag in detail?

A: It had unified production. The best workers were given ten work points. The next was nine, eight, six, five work points. At the end of the year, we would count the work points and calculate how much distribution should be paid [per work point]. Each person would be given thirteen khe of ration grain regardless of having any work points, or whether they were elderly or children. After all the distributions, including the nomad's products was done, they would count the work points and the highest work points would be ten. People who had fewer work points [than what they had been given in basic ration grain] had to compensate with money for the distributions, like meat and the butter and so on. The two of us [in his household] had to compensate 300-400 yuan. That was because we had only two people working but we had five children to raise. The households who didn't have to raise children and who had abundant laborers would get compensation of about 400-500-600 yuan from other people. When people didn't have ready cash to pay this compensation, they would pay it after selling the butter they got from their private cows and the skin of the dead animals.

Q: Didn't you have other source of income?

A: No, because we had to work for the work points [for the rukhag] all the time.

Q: How was your livelihood?

A: My livelihood was poor. During the summer, tsamba was very rare for about a month, so the two of us had to eat wild herbs. We would borrow some tsamba to give to my elder son.

Q: What was the reason for having such a difficult livelihood since all had the same amount of land?

A: The people who had high work points could get the payment for their work points, as well as the compensations from the people who had fewer work points. Furthermore, they would get a percentage of the leftover grain, [that is to say the grain that] was left after selling the grain to the government. Another reason was that the government was buying fifty percent of the left-over grain [Tib. 'bru lhag spus tshong].

Q: Did the government pay money to the masses for that grain?

A: They would pay the money to the rukhag and that money would be added to the work points. The people having higher work points would get more money and the people having lower work points would get less money. If there would be some money, they had to pay to buy plowing animals and for the expenditures for repairing the farm tools. The government was collecting a lot of grain. The government didn't pay any money for the "Patriotic Donation Grain."

Moreover, even if people had some money, there was no way to find a place to buy grain. It was not like nowadays. The government was not selling grain. The government was giving relief to the poor people, but they were collecting money for that. There was a saying for that, "One should save with the right hand and support with the left hand." The people who were from higher classes would not be given relief, even if they were poor.

Q: Did you have to go to work everyday? Or could you take rest like nowadays if the work was finished?

A: We had to work every day. There was no rest. During the winter we had to carry stones and add dirt onto the fields. In the springtime, we had to fertilize and plant the fields. During the summertime, we had to water and weed the fields. And in autumn it would be the harvest time and [we had to] collect the grain. Anyway, we had to work for the whole time.

Q: Did you have limits for working hours?

A: No, there were not any limits as to how many hours we worked. After breakfast, the work would start and after lunch the work would start. In the evening the work would end.

Q: Who would make the people start and end the work?

A: That was the dütrang of the rukhag.

Q: Who was the dütrang at that point?

A: The dütrang was Könchog Tsering [Tib. dkon mchog tshe ring].

Q: How much grain did you buy for a year for seven family members?

A: We were sold thirteen khe for each person regardless of whether they were adults or children. One khe was equal to twenty-eight jin. Even if the yield was not good, the grain ration was sold to all the people. If one's work points were enough to cover the cost of that (ration) grain, we would not need to compensate with money. If it was not enough, we had to compensate with money to the people who had higher work points.

Q: At that point, did you have any private fields, like vegetable gardens?

A: In the beginning, there were no private fields. Later on, we were given a private plot of land [Tib. rang bzhag sa zhing]. That was one mu for each team.

Q: What did they plant on that field, mostly?

A: Mostly we would plant grain. We would not plant vegetables because barley was scarce. After the gentsang system, then people had vegetable gardens. Otherwise, we didn't have vegetable gardens.

Q: How many cows did you have?

A: Households that had above ten family members had two cows. Those above five family members had one cow. As for the hay, the rukhag would sell about 1,000 jin of hay which was the leftover from the amount they kept for the animals of the rukhag.

Q: People were not allowed to keep more than two cows, right?

A: Yes.

Q: When the cows would give birth to calf, what would you do?

A: Usually, we could not raise it because we didn't have enough hay to feed it. In case a calf could be raised, we would sell it. If some male calf was born, if it could plow the field after three years, we could sell it to the rukhag. But mostly they could not do plowing after three years, so we would slaughter them when they were one or two years old.

Q: At the time of the rukhag, was the yield better than the old society or what?

A: The yield was better than the old society because all of the fields were planted every year [no leaving land fallow].

Q: How much yield did you get from a one khe of land?

A: In the beginning, we got about 300 jin from one khe of seed. Later, after using chemical fertilizers, we got about 350-400 jin from one khe of seed.

Q: How much yield did you get in the old society?

A: In the old society the best was ten khe from one khe of seed [Tib. bcu skor]. Some of the yield was called "kupa gu" [Tib. skud pa 'gugs], which meant that one got two khe from one khe of seed.

Q: What was the average yield in the old society?

A: That was 300 jin of yield from 100 jin of seed [Tib. gsum skor]. In the rukhag we would sow thirty five jin of seed on a field where one khe of seed can be sown [in the past]. That was the fixed amount.

Q: How did you get butter, meat, tea, kerosene oil, cigarettes and matches, etc. for your family?

A: The butter and the meat, wool and hair for making clothing was produced from the animals of the rukhag. These were distributed according to the amount of people and the fifty percent remaining would be given according to the work points. Supposing each person would be given a sheep for meat. From that, they would take out fifty percent and give it according to the work points and the wool and hair were also given according to the percentage, and people would spin the yarn in all their spare time even the time when eating food. The rukhag had set up a common weaving place where we sent the yarn and they would weave woolen cloth and give it to us.

Q: At the time of the rukhag, how many sheep did you get per year for your family?

A: The two of us got one sheep for meat per year for the whole family.

Q: How much butter did you get?

A: We would get three jin of butter per year.

Q: What about the cooking oil?

A: They would give a small amount of mustard and we had to thrash it during our lunch time and get the oil extracted in the rukhag's oil extracting place.

Q: Usually, what kind of meal would you eat at that time?

A: We would eat bag and tsamba soup.

Q: Was that barley tsamba or wheat tsamba?

A: We didn't have wheat tsamba. We used to grind the wheat to make flour for making bread. Mostly it was barley bag and tsampa soup

Q: What did you put in the soup?

A: In the summertime, we collected some kinds of wild herbs and nettles to put in the tsamba soup to which we added salt and water. But in winter, we had only tsamba, fat, salt and water in the soup.

Q: When you were working as a dagnyer, what would you do every day from morning to evening?

A: Usually, I would go to work with the other people. But in the autumn season, when the yields would come in, I would stay in the granary and weigh the grain with the accountant. During the spring season, myself and the accountant had to go to the fields and weigh the seeds that were to be sown on that day. In the evening we would weigh the leftover seeds.

Q: Every day after getting up in the morning, what would you do?

A: Usually, after getting up and having my breakfast, I would go to work with the members of the rukhag and do whatever the rukhag leader would instruct us, like watering the fields, plowing the fields, and so on. In autumn I would stay in the granary and lock the granary door. A representative of the masses would put an extra lock on the granary door.

Q: At that time, you had to stay in the granary, right?

A: Yes, I had to stay in the granary all the time.

Q: How many work points did they give you?

A: I was given the highest, ten work points.

Q: How about the people who got five work points?

A: They were the people who were about 16 years old.

Q: Did you have to actually compensate money, or were they just telling you that you had to compensate?

A: Supposing I had to compensate some money. I would request to that person who would get the compensation to borrow some money. We would arrange it internally.

Q: At that point, after calculating the work points, would the rukhag introduce the person to be compensated to the people who ought to compensate them?

A: No, after the calculations, the rukhag would collect the money from the people who ought to compensate and they would pay it to the people who deserved to be compensated. So, at that point, supposing I had to compensate some money, I would request from the people who deserved to be compensated to borrow some money from his share and pay it back gradually.

Q: At that point, did the people make any changes in the old customs or habits, like weddings and deaths?

A: After the Cultural Revolution, they were doing things according to the old customs in the old society where the bride or the bridegroom got married even when they never saw each other. And when people died, they were carrying the corpse to the sky burial like today, but they were not openly doing things like astrological calculations and having monks stay near the body and offering butter lamps. It was done secretly.

Q: Did the women change their hair styles and wear chupa?

A: All of the young men cut their hair short and took off their turquoise earring, except for a few elderly people. The women's hair styles were the same as before.

Q: In your place, did women plow fields?

A: No, women would not plow the fields. People would say that women would not be able to plow well.

Q: Didn't they publicize in Panam County that the women should be trained to plow fields?

A: They were probably saying that men and women are equal and they should be paid equally.

Q: In your place did the women get trained to plow?

A: No, they didn't.

Q: Didn't they say that people were not allowed to wear chupa?

A: No, they didn't say that.

Q: But was it said that men were not allowed to leave their hair long?

A: Yes. That was for the young people, but the elderly said that they were not going to cut their hair, and they were not forced to cut their hair. They were saying that if people cut their hair, the custom would be lost.

Q: The yield at that time was much better than the old society, but the livelihood of the people became much poorer, was that correct?

A: Yes. Compared with the overall situation in the old society, it was like that because the government collected a lot of grain during the rukhag period. But some people in the old society were very poor.

Q: During the rukhag, the poor people were very poor, right?

A: Yes, but they were given relief.

Q: Were there any people who died from starvation during the rukhag era?

A: No, not a single one.

Q: In terms of agriculture, such as the farming tools, were there any changes comparing with the old society?

A: In the old society, some people had very good farm tools and some didn't have anything. Nowadays, it is also like that. Some people were trenyog of the ngadag in the past who didn't have one dre of land and a small room, but they got land equally and also houses where they could keep their animals during the reforms. Even if they became poor again, they were given relief grain. In the old society, when people didn't have food to eat, they had to beg for food because nobody gave them food.

Q: Were you always hungry during the rukhag?

A: Because we had 7 people and [only] two people working, we were quite hungry, and we had to control our diet and make the tsampa for the month to last for a month.

Q: Did many people feel angry with the government?

A: There were two different kind of ideologies. Some people who had been imposing taxes and ula in the past were not happy and they said something. But as for the poor people who got the land and those things, they were happy.

Q: When the monasteries were destroyed, did the masses want to do that due to their own enthusiasm or was it that they didn't have any choice but to destroy them?

A: Among the masses there were different people. Some people didn't want to destroy them, but they had to, thinking people would do something to them if they didn't. Some people were thinking that those things were useless and destroyed them. Mainly, the demons and the monsters were destroyed because of the education and instructions from above.

Q: During the ten year rukhag period, did the people's livelihood change gradually or was it the same from the beginning to the end?

A: It was kind of same.

Q: When did you first hear about the new changes in Beijing like about the Deng Xiaoping and so on, and start of the gentsang?

A: In the year 1980-1981 the gentsang started, and there were 7 kinds of gentsang which the people chose.

Q: Did you hear that from a meeting or the radio?

A: We heard from the rukhag's dūtrang, and the xiang was called to the county and they held a meeting there at which it was said that we have to develop ourselves by our own efforts. They announced the policy about Deng Xiaoping going to the south to investigate and saying that the Cultural Revolution was wrong. The present era is to step forward from the democratic system to the socialist society. By doing this, the masses will become rich.

Q: What did you think when you all of a sudden heard about the new policy?

A: By that time, I had 7 family members and it was said that they would give out the land according to the number of people and they said I could keep the yield of my own hard work on the land and didn't need to pay money to others. So I thought this would be true.

Q: Were you glad?

A: Yes, I was.

Q: Did you think that it was going to happen or you had some doubts?

A: I had doubts and thought that they might merge the things together again. They gave back the animals and we signed a pledge [Tib. gan rgya] in which it was written the amount of land, the cattle and the plowing animals [we received]. We were not allowed to make them scattered [Tib. gtor] and make them less, and we should be ready if we were told to collect them again. If the animals died, you had to put in a substitute. Therefore, I thought that we might have to merge them together again.

Q: Do you still have the pledge?

A: No, later it was collected back and burned. When the Third Plenary session of the Central Committee was held, they passed down the policy which will not be change for a long time [Tib. yun ring mi 'gyur ba'i sris jus] and the people were extremely glad when it was said that the animals would belong to the people and people have to feed themselves [Tib. rang bdag rang gso], and that the land will belong to the people. It was said that this policy will continue for 100 years.

Since then people started doing construction. In the past, the rukhag had one walking tractor, and now people have horse carts and some people even have their walking tractors. The animals and the economic livelihood condition increased a lot because it was said that people could plant whatever they like to plant and this would not be the capitalism. Therefore, the people were saying that they had never seen such a policy in the old society and after the reforms, and there would not be a better policy than this in the future also. At that time, there was an inferior Community School and we had to pay the wages of the teacher from the land we have. And when it was not enough, we had to pool money and we didn't have Government Schools. Now we just pay a little bit for the Community School, otherwise we didn't need to pay money.

Q: What was your strategy for becoming rich after you got the land and the animals?

A: I do the farming and the animal husbandry, and I also send one child to the school and I am going to send another to make them become part of the new generation to develop the nationality. But I have to keep two children home for the elderly. I sent two daughters to Lhasa to learn handicrafts such as rug weaving. Now, though I am not rich, I get by.

Q: Do you think you don't need to become more rich?

A: No, I have to become rich. Comparing with the past, I had only one plowing dzo which I got from the distribution but now I have three dzo and a mule.

Q: How many cows do you have?

A: I have three cows and a calf. I have 42 sheep and goats.

Q: Are your sheep and goats for slaughtering? Do you sell the hair [Tib. spu] of the animals or do you use it for yourself?

A: We sell the cashmere of the goats and use the sheep wool for ourselves. I also have to buy 100 jin of wool per year for making our own clothes and bedding.

Q: How many sheep and goats do you slaughter per year?

A: We don't have many sheep and goats, so we would slaughter five to six sheep or goats per year.

Q: What else?

A: I would also buy meat from other nomads. Sometimes, I would pay money, and sometimes I would barter cooking oil for meat, and sometimes I would buy meat. If I slaughter too many, the sheep and the goats will not be able to develop (increase).

Q: What's your biggest fear in this place?

A: The biggest fear in this area is flooding. If the fields get damaged by a flood, we have a big population here, so the livelihood of the people would become difficult. We have to go outside to make some income and engage in some sort of business. Therefore, we are worried that the farming production will become more and more deteriorated.

Q: What about your family?

A: If my children will be obedient in the future, that would be good. But I am afraid that my children might not be obedient like the other children in modern times (are not), and would find their partners (spouses) and go out of the family. That might cause some problems. According to our own customs, the fraternal polyandry system is helpful for the family because some of the sons can do farming, some of them can do animal husbandry and some of them can go out and do something else. If there would be only one son in the family, he would have to do the farming, or the husbandry, or have to go outside to make money.

Q: As for yourself, you left a fraternal polyandrous marriage and lived a monogamous life. Now you are planning to have your children marry polyandrously. What was the reason for having such a change in your mind?

A: I was just thinking about the life outside. In those days, some of the households became rich by employing the fraternal polyandry system. But at that point in time, I was sent to the rukhag and its land was all merged together, and we didn't have anything else to do in our family like animal husbandry. Therefore, I thought of going out to live a monogamous life in the rukhag.

Nowadays, gentsang was given to private people. Therefore, the conditions are complete as we have lands and animals and we are allowed to go outside. Therefore, it would be better to have many people, so I was thinking that way [use fraternal polyandry].

Nowadays, in our village, the households who have less hands to work are poorer. Before ones children grow up, parents might have some problems, but when the children grow up, their livelihood would be better.

Q: At the time of the Cultural Revolution, were you allowed to practice polyandry?

A: We were allowed to do that.

Q: Were there any negative feelings about that?

A: No, because, we had that kind of custom.

Q: At that time, weren't they saying that it was a backward kind of thinking?

A: No, they were not. According to that point of view, people were saying that fraternal polyandry would be harmful for the health, but actually there were just a few people thinking that way and most of the people were not thinking like that.

Q: What harm do you mean?

A: Like infectious diseases. If a single woman had many husbands they would infect diseases to each other or the woman would not be healthy.

Q: How does the government in the village work? How many people are there? How are they elected?

A: In the Neighborhood Committees there are from three to seven members. In our village, we have only three members. If there are too many members, (it will be hard) because the masses have to compensate their work [Tib. las don kha gsab] since they are not paid by the government and they are sent everywhere to do work. These three members are the main people in charge of production.

Q: How would they be in charge since the work is done by the households?

A: They would be in charge of selecting good seeds and making the fertilizer. They supervise which of the households have made more fertilizer and which make less, and which household is better in production. They are in charge of the overall farming, animal husbandry, forestry, sideline work and the disciplines and the rule of the masses. They advise the backward ones and if they commit serious problems, they punish them. And they praise the good households.

Q: Who are the three members in your village?

A: The senior director [Ch. zhu ren; Tib. rgan pa], the deputy director [Ch. fu zhu ren; Tib. rgan po gzhon pa] and an accountant. Above them is the Party Secretary of the Village [Ch. dang zhi bu shu ji], and there is one Woman's Committee member [Ch. bud med wei yuan].

Q: The Woman's Committee member is not included in the Neighborhood Committee, right?

A: She is not included in the Neighborhood Committee. The Neighborhood Committee is the main organization. Under its leadership, are the Woman's Committee member and the person in charge of security.

Q: How many people were there in charge of security?

A: We have one Woman's Committee member. As for security, the three of us in combination are doing that.

Q: You didn't elect a person in charge of security, right?

A: Yes.

Q: How do you elect the leaders?

A: The Party Secretary is elected at the Party Member's meeting. The masses don't have the right to elect him. The directors of the Neighborhood Committee are elected by the masses from all the people above the age of eighteen.

Q: How about the people who don't know writing?

A: They ask their relatives to write the name for them. Each person is allowed to write names of three people. People are not allowed to write their own name.

Q: When did that kind of election start?

A: It started in 1999.

Q: Before that, how did you do the election?

A: Before that, they would nominate three people and ask the masses whether they agree or not. If they agreed, they would write a zero under the name, if they did not agree, they would write an x under the name. Now they do not nominate people, the masses write down names. The policy came out in 1998 and it was formally started in 1999. There was a rule book for the Neighborhood Committee.

Q: How long has it been since you became the village head [Tib. grong dpon]?

A: From 1985 at the time of demolishing the qu and the establishing the xiang. This year I was elected as the Livelihood Director [Tib. 'tsho ba'i; Ch. zhu ren], but I told them I was [not] going to be the director.

Q: Why?

A: Because I am old. I told them that I would not be suitable to fulfill the demands of the masses, so they should elect younger people. I am still the Party Secretary, because I was elected as a Party member and it is permitted by the Party. I thought it would not be okay to quit that.

Q: Do you get the compensation [Tib. las don kha gsab] for being the Party Secretary?

A: Yes I do. Now the directors and the Party Secretary are the same. The people in charge are getting the same payment. I am old and I want to quit being Party Secretary.

Q: Is it hard to do your job? Do the people think one thing and the government thinks something else and you are in the between?

A: Yes, it is hard.

Q: Why?

A: Because I have to act in accordance with the opinions of the masses. This year it became more relaxed, but last year the superiors were saying that we should plant and plow together multiple plots of land [Tib. gling 'debs] [Note: this refers to the fields of different households being plowed together and planted with the same crop rather than each household planting his own fields], but the masses were against it. At that point, the superiors were criticizing us because we didn't implement the order. So I was placed in a very difficult position being in between. When the leaders came for the inspection, they were criticizing us saying that we planted mustard and beans in this area. However, the masses didn't want to plant them in big areas. There were many struggles over this and from this year we were told to plant good seeds individually. (In other words) that families can plant whatever way gives them a good yield. If you don't fulfill your duty [high yields], you should bear the responsibility.

But when we have some problem in irrigation, and I have to request support from the government, we get some support but that does not satisfy the masses. If I don't make people work very much, the land will be spoiled. But if I make them work a lot, I am worried that they will be very tired.

Q: Since the gentsang, is there much change in the yields?

A: After the gentsang, the livelihood of the masses became richer. We would weigh the yields of three qualities of fields, the best, the middle and the worse, and after that we calculate the average yield of the village.

Q: Did you go and weigh it actually?

A: We would measure the grain in basins and weigh one basin of grain and calculate the yield. We know that the yield was better than at the time of the rukhag.

Q: Nowadays, how much do you get from one mu?

A: The best yield is about 700-800 jin. The middle is about 400-500 and the worse is about 300 jin. The average yield per mu would be 600 jin.

Q: You said there were three different qualities of lands, the best, the middle, and the worse. Was the percentage of fields thirty three percent for each quality every time, or there would be changes in the percentages?

A: Usually, fifty percent of the fields were the best quality and thirty percent was the middle and twenty percent was the worst. We would add dirt [Tib. top soil] on the worse fields and try to make them into the middle quality. And we would try to make the middle to become the best. When we use chemical fertilizers, we would use it most on the worse lands and next on the middle land, and we would use less on the best lands. We would calculate the average yield as the middle yield.

Q: How many seeds do you sow per mu?

A: We sow thirty three jin per mu.

Q: How much mustard?

A: Usually, we mix mustard and barley. We sow thirty three jin of barley and two jin of mustard.

Q: How many beans do you sow?

A: We sow about twenty eight jin and five jin of mustard. The reason for sowing more mustard with the beans is that the beans fall over and lay down on the ground when they grow tall. At that point, the mustard would support the beans. This year we planted more barley mixed with mustard, and we didn't plant much bean mixed with mustard. That is because the beans would lay down this year, so there would not be a good yield. Next year, when we sow only beans, it would lay down again and become rotten. We have done a lot of experiments on this matter. We used good seeds brought from other places and tested whether the yield would become less after two years.

Q: Last year, did they impose any quota to sell grain to the government as a duty [Tib. las 'gan]?

A: Last year, they imposed a small quota to sell grain to the government. Each person was imposed a quota of nine jin.

Q: What was the reason for that?

A: That was sent from the Xian to the Xiang, and then the xiang divided it to the households according to their yields. Last year, we had a serious flood, so they required only that amount for us. There was a person who bought grain from another place and sold the whole amount of the village's grain sales quota to the government so we didn't need to sell nine jin for each person.

Q: Who was that person?

A: That was Dechog [Tib. bde mchog].

Q: For doing that how much profit did he get?

A: Some of the grain was bartered with salt. He probably got some profit. The government paid him eight maotse and four fen for the barley, and one yuan and four maotse for a jin of mustard.

Q: So, last year the price went up, right?

A: But we didn't sow much mustard.

Q: What will the quota be for this year?

A: We can't estimate it at this time.

Q: Do the masses have any burdens now, like paying taxes to the government?

A: We don't have any burdens like paying taxes to the government. The grain was sold to the government and it was paid for. Before that, the masses had to buy sheep for slaughtering, paying twenty to thirty yuan and deliver it to the cadres, but we don't need to deliver it and they are buying their own meat.

Q: When you sell wool and cashmere, do they impose a tax on that?

A: No, there is no tax for that.

Q: Is there any fixed percentage of slaughtering animals? What was the percentage last year?

A: Last year, it was twenty one percent. It was said that people were allowed to keep a fixed amount of cattle. They said that the amount of newborn cattle should be slaughtered. If people kept the fixed amount of cattle, the cattle and the grazing pastures would be in balance. If there were too many cattle and too little pasture, that would not be good. In this area, it was just telling people the fixed amount, but some people were slaughtering more than that. If somebody didn't have many cattle, they would not slaughter that much. Nobody is inquiring about that.

Q: How much salary do you get per month for working as the director?

A: I get 720 yuan per month.

Q: Do the three of you get the same amount?

A: Tsewang gets ten yuan less than me. And Jupönpa [Tib. bcu dpon pa] gets 380 yuan as he doesn't have many duties. The money is collected from the masses. Each person had to pay a little more than one yuan.